1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

THE HAKO: A PAWNEE CEREMONY

By ALICE C. FLETCHER

PREFACE

In the early eighties of the last century, while pursuing my study of the Omaha tribe, I several times witnessed the ceremony described in the following pages. Owing to the death of the only man who knew all the rituals, it became impossible to secure a complete record, but as the ceremony was an intertribal one I hoped to make good the loss in some other tribe. From statements made by the Omahas, the Ponkas, and the Dakotas I was led to believe that among the Pawnees this ceremony could be found still preserved in its entirety. I need not recount the failure of efforts made during some fifteen years to gain the desired information, since at last, in 1898, I found the long-sought opportunity. After four years of work, I am able to present the entire ceremony, as observed in the Chaui band of the Pawnee tribe.

The difficulty of obtaining accurate first-hand information in regard to religious rites and beliefs is so well known that it seems proper to state briefly how I came by my opportunities. An extended and intimate acquaintance in one tribe opens the way in another. The warm friendship of old and leading men of the Omahas became my credentials to other tribes where these leaders were influential; and with the further assistance of Mr Francis LaFlesche, the son of the former head chief of the Omahas, I was able to establish relations of confidence with some of the old and prominent men of the Pawnees.

My experience has shown that no linguistic training will enable a student by himself to accomplish successfully the difficult task of recording and interpreting the rituals of a religious ceremony. He must have a native collaborator, one with a good knowledge of English and well versed in the intricacies of his own tongue, able to explain its "sacred language" and possessing those gifts of mind and character which fit him not only to grasp the ideals of his race but to commend himself to the keepers of the ancient rites. Such a collaborator makes a clear vision of the native mind possible to a student of another race.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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PREFACE

Acculturation, though a recent term which has yet to establish itself in dictionary usage, is a useful term for the processes by which aspects or elements of two cultures mingle and merge. Within this broad meaning, however, we should distinguish assimilation as of a separate character. Acculturation may be taken to refer to the ways in which some cultural aspect is taken into a culture and adjusted or fitted to it. This implies some relative cultural equality between the giving and receiving cultures. Assimilation, however, is the process of transforming aspects of a conquered or engulfed culture into a status of relative adjustment to the forms of the ruling culture. The problem of acculturation, when we are considering the American Indians in relation to their adjustment to European culture, is a problem of assimilation.

Assimilation and acculturation differ in another important way. In acculturation the cultural groups involved are in an essentially reciprocal relationship. Both give and take. As a result it is a valid problem to consider what is adopted and what not, and the whys and wherefores. In assimilation the tendency is for the ruling cultural group to enforce the adoption of certain externals, in terms of which superficial adjustment seems to be attained. The adopting culture is not in a position to choose. Its forms are often technically so inferior, particularly in material culture, that they tend to be obliterated at once by the technical products of the culture which engulfs them. In addition the ruled are generally ordered to do so and so, and to stop doing so and so. In this situation the only possible reactions are passive acceptance or active resistance and rejection. The study of assimilation of the American Indian must take into consideration the fact that American Indian culture has not met a culture of the same order of complexity or technical advancement, and that in the methods which have been used to assimilate the Indian, neither individually nor collectively as tribal groups were the natives brought into direct contact with our culture as such. They were offered, here and there, certain obvious externals. These externals are relatively superficial in relation to the values and standards of our culture, and could not replace the essential values of American Indian culture which were meanwhile destroyed.

In 1930 and 1931, while engaged in the study of Pawnee and Wichita ethnology in Oklahoma, I found it necessary to control

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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the recent changes in religion and ritual. In doing so, the story of the renaissance of culture which took place among the Pawnee under the stimulus of the Ghost Dance was pieced together. In presenting this material I have described the developments against the background of Pawnee history since white contact. This serves to bring to light the motivations and influences which were stimulants of change. And in reference to the new forms which developed I have concentrated on the Ghost Dance hand games, the most important in terms of the emphasis made by the Pawnee themselves. The controlled consideration of the games in their changing forms has made it possible to consider the meaning of processes of change, and the inevitability of founding ethnological methodology on a metaphysic of history.

The field work among the Pawnee, of which this study is a specialized part, was carried out under a project supported by the Columbia Council for Research in the Social Sciences. This manuscript was in part prepared while I was Fellow of the American Council of Learned Societies. In addition to published material, I have had the use of unpublished materials of James R. Murie, in the form of a manuscript by George A. Dorsey and James R. Murie, which was made available to me through the courtesy of Dr. Dorsey and Dr. Berthold Laufer of the Field Museum of Natural History; and I was also able to refer to a Bureau of Ethnology manuscript on the Ceremonies of the Pawnee, by James R. Murie, which was at the time being linguistically revised by Dr. Gene Weltfish. The use of these materials proved invaluable, not only for the work which has resulted in the present study, but also for the consideration of Pawnee religion which I hope to present in another year.

I cannot close these remarks without acknowledging my indebtedness to Professors Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict of Columbia University, who gave me the opportunity to make the field studies on which this work is based. I am also obligated to many Pawnee friends, and particularly to my chief informant, Mark Everts, a rare mind and a hearty friend, and Henry Chapman, whose help was important in this and other work. My wife, Dr. Gene Weltfish, has cooperated with me in countless ways. But most of all, I must express my intellectual obligations to Professors Franz Boas and John Dewey. For many years I have believed their conceptions of method to be basically in harmony, and in my own thought and work I have leaned heavily on their teachings.

October, 1932. Alexander Lesser.

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
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668 525 7'11 [577] counter from hand to hand in this way was a regular form of deception and part of the game. Other informants told me about this old method of play after I had recorded Mark's experience, and only then did I become aware that in terms of Ghost Dance hand game ethics Mark had cheated, unconsciously falling into the habits of play he had been used to in his boyhood.

The concept of luck associated with hand game play was broadened conceptually in the Ghost Dance. Winning was a sign of greater faith, and since the coming change could be attained through faith alone, losing was a bitter dose indeed. It marked one as a disbeliever, a sinner, an unfortunate who could not be saved.

121 525 668 In the chapters which follow I have considered the Ghost Dance hand games in two ways. In the first discussion the material facts of the games have been used to define the generic aspects of game rituals and ceremonies, and to bring out the significance of the various parts in order to consider in a later discussion the contrast with the old game and the meaning of the changes. In other chapters the details of the individual games are presented so far as known, in a form which makes them at once comparable with the analysis which precedes. In this way repetitions have been reduced to a minimum.

The order in which the games are presented, especially those of the Skiri, is an attempt at something of a chronology.

128 525 668 The exact order is of course impossible to determine at this date. Many were developed well-nigh simultaneously. If the owners of old games are interviewed each is likely to contend for the priority of his or her own game. But certain games are known to be very old, certain others to be very recent. In addition special traits of the individual games place them in one or another of relative periods of time, before which they could not have used certain forms, and after which they must have. In short, on the basis of internal evidence as well as tradition a fairly sure chronology of the games *as groups* had been obtained. The question of priority within the groups is problematical.

There are first of all the games of the South Bands. Of these I have heard of only five: Joseph Carrion's, Tom Morgan's, White Elk's, Charley Brown's (this and White Elk's are collaborative), and Annie Eustace's. Tom Morgan's game as we saw was probably a nonceremonial one, which he altered to suit the new fashion, while Carrion's was the game he learned among the Arapaho. These two are then definitely older than the White Elk-Brown game, and that of Annie Eustace, for both of the latter were developed *as* Ghost Dance hand games.

i [not processed. -Analyst]

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FOREWORD

The previous studies of Indian music [1] have included no tribe in which ceremonialism is so highly developed as among the Pawnee, whose songs are here presented. This research was conducted among members of the Skidi and Chaui Bands near Pawnee, Okla., in 1919 and 1920. Portions of two important ceremonies were witnessed and several gatherings of a ceremonial character were attended during the progress of the work. The ceremonies were those of the Morning Star and the Painting of the Buffalo Skull, the writer being admitted to the Morning Star lodge during the former ceremony and witnessing the Buffalo and Lance dances, which are a part of the latter. The gatherings included hand games, and dances in honor of Pawnee soldiers upon their return from the recent war.

Grateful acknowledgment is made of assistance rendered by interpreters, especially by Mr. James R. Murie, chief of the Skidi Band, who explained many tribal customs and who wrote down and interpreted the words of the songs. The writer also acknowledges the courtesy of Dr. John R. Swanton in standardizing the orthography of the Pawnee words.

[1] Chippewa Music, Bull. 45; Chippewa Music II, Bull. 53; Teton Sioux Music, Bull. 61; Northern Ute Music, Bull. 75; Mandan and Hidatsa Music, Bull. 80; Papago Music, Bull. 90, Bur. Amer. Ethn.; and Music of the Tule Indians of Panama, Smithsonian Misc. Colls., vol. 77, no. 11.

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4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

INTRODUCTION.

The following discussion of Pawnee societies was prepared by James R. Murie, a member of the Skidi division, under the direction of the editor who is in the main responsible for its form and limitations. Mr. Murie's method was to collect and write out in full such information on the several topics as could be secured. These notes were then made the subject of several conferences with the editor during which the present manuscript was prepared. It being thus essentially an original contribution, the editor has not considered it necessary to add comments on the previous literature. The important titles on the Pawnee are the three articles by John B. Dunbar in the *Magazine of American History* for 1880–81; *Pawnee Hero Stories* (1893) by George Bird Grinnell; *The Hako* (1894) by Miss Alice C. Fletcher; and two volumes of myths by George A. Dorsey; *Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee* (1904) and *The Pawnee Mythology* (1906). In all of these except the two first, Mr. Murie was a collaborator.

While this paper is primarily concerned with societies as treated in the preceding pages, a general outline of the tribal ceremonial scheme is given for perspective, there being no publication to date that treats this subject systematically. This will probably be sufficient to give a general idea of the place and significance of Pawnee societies as parts of their culture complex.

The drawings are by Mr. S. Ichikawa from specimens and sketches furnished by the author.

The Editor.

September, 1914.

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6: Linton E-4 (no date) 1922
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

THE PLAINS INDIANS

(Hall 5)

PREFACE

The Field Museum's collection illustrating the life of the Indians of the Great Plains is one of the best and most extensive in this country. Much of the material has been obtained directly from the tribes through research of museum officials and others employed by the institution, among whom Mr. S. C. Simms, Dr. G. A. Dorsey, Mr. James Mooney, and Mr. H. R. Voth deserve especial mention. The collections have been further enriched by purchases and particularly by numerous gifts of Mr. Edward E. Ayer, a trustee of the institution, who has always taken a profound interest in this phase of the museum's activities.

The exhibits are especially rich in objects used by the Indians in connection with their religious observances, and several miniature groups have been prepared showing the manner in which the Pawnee, one of the Plains tribes, performed their most important ceremonies. A proper understanding of the significance of such ceremonial objects is impossible without some knowledge of the religious concepts and observances of the tribes represented. The present series of leaflets is designed to give this necessary background by presenting the facts in a simple and popular form. Much of the information contained in them has already been published in various scientific publications; but the descriptions of the Pawnee ceremonies have not previously been published, and it is hoped that they may prove of interest to the scientist, as well as the lay reader.

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
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PREFACE

The Pawnee have been known to white men since, probably, 1541, and certainly since 1678. They were the most numerous and powerful of the tribes constituting the Caddoan linguistic stock and one of the most important of the entire Plains area. Since the earliest definite historic mention of them they have been resident in Nebraska and the extreme northern portion of Kansas, particularly on the Loup, Platte, and Republican Rivers. As a tribe they were always friendly to the Europeans and later to the Americans, rendering invaluable aid as scouts in the Indian troubles on the Plains during the middle half of the nineteenth century; and that despite the half-hearted and tardy attentions that too often characterized the Government's relations with them.

The tribe has been variously described by early explorers, missionaries, fur traders, Army officers, and travelers, many of whom left very valuable and worth-while accounts concerning them in their native habitat in the Loup and Platte Valleys. In more recent years, on their reservation in Oklahoma, they have been studied by linguists and ethnologists, though much of this material is still unpublished. Of outstanding note among the available treatises in this field is the work of Dunbar in general ethnology, of Dorsey in mythology, of Grinnell in folk-tales, and of Murie in social and political organization. Archeological remains, surprisingly rich and numerous at many of the old village sites formerly occupied by the tribe, have received but little systematic attention up to the present, save for the excellent beginnings made by a few local collectors. Yet it is this latter, long-neglected field of research which must come to be more and more drawn upon for information regarding this fast-vanishing tribe and its native culture.

The primary purpose of this paper, as originally planned, was to present a purely objective preliminary report on the archeology of the Pawnee, drawing together all data at present available and recording it in systematic fashion. More or less inadvertently, the scope was broadened to include a review of the traditions dealing with the origin and early movements of the tribe, as well as a concise summary of the documentary history of the tribe from 1541 to 1876. To this were added brief notes on the environment of the group, and such other significant facts as may be helpful to an understanding of the subject. The social, political, and religious phases

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11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
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121 of Pawnee culture, as well as their general ethnology, have been deliberately avoided, since most of these have been treated at length elsewhere. Finally, correlations have been made with other cultures of adjoining areas with a view to determining as far as possible where the roots of Pawnee culture lie.

114 The principal source for the archeological data embodied in this 127 paper is the Hill collection at the Hastings (Nebr.) Museum. This collection, gathered over a period of more than 18 years by Mr. A. T. Hill, Hastings business man and director of the Nebraska State Historical Society Museum at Lincoln, is unequaled by any in the field of Pawnee archeology. Most of the specimens were secured from the Hill site, now the property of Mr. Hill, but there is in addition much comparative material from other historic Pawnee and prehistoric sites in central and southern Nebraska. Through the courtesy of Mr. Hill the writer was enabled to spend 2 weeks in a study of these exhibits, at which time the bulk of the information was obtained. The known Pawnee material recovered by the Nebraska Archaeological Survey, of which the writer was a member during the summer of 1930, has also been drawn upon. This was secured mainly from the Hill site and corroborates generally the facts reached through study of the Hill collections. Mention should also be made of the excellent collection of surface material in the possession of Mr. Alfred Tichacek, of Linwood, Nebr., all of which comes from the early Pawnee site near that town. On two different occasions access was had to these specimens for study purposes. In addition, small collections made by various amateur collectors and, as far as available, those of the Nebraska Historical Society, were also examined.

The paper, intended as a basic approach to the study of prehistory in the Pawnee area, was originally completed in the spring of 1931. Lack of funds prevented publication at the time, however, and the rapid accumulation of new data from the region has made possible revision from time to time of the sections dealing with archeological details. Final revision was made in November 1935, bringing the paper so far as possible up to date in the light of researches made since its inception. For a review of Pawnee archeology and its relation to other Nebraska cultures, the reader is referred to Dr. W. D. Strong's recent publication (An Introduction to Nebraska Archeology, Smithson. Misc. Colls., vol. 93, no. 10, 1935), in part based upon investigations which were coincident with or immediately subsequent to those here described. The results of other and more recent work in the area, dealing primarily with prehistoric sites, will be found in the present writer's reports in the Nebraska History Magazine, vol. 14, no. 3, 1934, and vol. 15, no. 3, 1935. Findings of the Nebraska State Historical Society in historic Pawnee sites at

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
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consisted of a main framework of timbers and posts, supporting a thatch of grass and, finally, a covering of turf, erected over a shallow, circular, saucerlike excavation; the entrance projected from one side, usually but not always the southeast or east. When such a structure was abandoned and the continual vigilance required for its upkeep removed, the outer shell of earth was soon washed off and deposited about the base of the wall, while the timbers might remain standing for years before rotting away. Thus, there would result in course of time a raised ring of soil, indicating the periphery of the erstwhile lodge; within this ring was a depression somewhat lower than the normal ground surface outside. Prior to the breaking up of the bottom lands along the rivers these lodge circles were to be seen on every Pawnee site of the past century. Where subterranean caches or "Indian cellars" occur the soil within them has often settled to such an extent that the mouth is revealed as a small circular depression. These occur both inside and outside the lodge circles. Defensive walls were constructed around nearly every historic village, but with few exceptions these have now been wholly obliterated. Long cultivation obviously tends to destroy all traces of either lodge circles or earthworks, though very shallow depressions and slight elevations may persist for a number of years. Frequently, even after repeated plowing, the sites of the lodges are still clearly indicated by sherds, charred wood, burned earth, bones, and similar detrital material, which litters each particular spot formerly occupied by a dwelling. The contrast between these circular discolored areas and the surrounding natural soil is especially marked after the site has been freshly plowed.

In the following discussion 13 Pawnee sites, grouped according to their band affiliations, will be briefly described. Ten of these have been identified with villages recorded by the various American explorers after 1800. Another, the Kansas Monument site, probably dates just prior to that year and, while not specifically documented, is unquestionably of rather late historic date. The other two sites were occupied approximately contemporaneously, and are post-Columbian; they have, however, never been placed with any degree of accuracy in the historical scheme, hence are designated as protohistoric.[33]

[33] In conformity to the system of nomenclature suggested at the first Plains Archeological Conference held at Vermillion, S. Dak., on Aug. 31–Sept. 1, 1931, village sites in the Pawnee area have been tentatively divided into three sequential groups, viz, the historic, the protohistoric, and the prehistoric. Historic sites are those which have been quite definitely identified with villages visited or reported by American and European explorers in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries—i. e., between 1775 and 1874. Protohistoric sites are those dating from the very beginning of the European conquest; they show traces of trade relations with white men, bear strong basic cultural resemblances to the historic villages, but were never specifically documented; and in point of time they fall between the years 1540 and 1775. Prehistoric

11: Wedel A-4, 5 (1930) 1936
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With the exception of the Cottonwood Creek village, all of these sites, where definitely located, have been visited by the writer, who was accompanied in all but two instances by Mr. A. T. Hill, of Hastings. Several of the locations were first identified by Mr. Hill many years ago, and through the medium of sample collections he has acquired a first-hand acquaintance with each site that made his assistance invaluable. So far as systematic excavation is concerned, Mr. Hill's activities have been largely confined to the Hill site. The Nebraska Archeological Survey, of which the writer was a member, spent the first 2 weeks in August 1930 in intensive work at the same place, the results of which are included in this paper. Excavations by the Survey at the Burkett and Schuyler sites in 1931 were made subsequent to the writing of this paper. However, certain of these findings have been incorporated here, although the main results await future publication. The only other extended excavations were made by E. E. Blackman, of the Nebraska Historical Society, at the Burkett site, in 1907. For the rest, as already stated, the sites have been visited and their chief features noted, as well as surface collections of specimens wherever available.

SKIDI PAWNEE SITES

The Skidi band, known in early literature as the *Panimaha*, is by some considered to have been the first to occupy the northern habitat. According to their own claim, they were formerly a very powerful and numerous tribe, consisting of four bands, each numbering 5,000 souls.[34] This number is doubtless excessive, but to quote Grinnell, "There are yet to be seen on the Loup Fork, in Nebraska, innumerable remains of Skidi villages, some of which are very ancient."[35] To date only three sites have been definitely shown to be Skidi, although there is a very strong probability that archeology will bring to light many more of prehistoric age, possibly substantiating the greater antiquity of the Skidi in the area.[36]

PALMER SITE.—This was discovered by Mr. A. T. Hill, of Hastings, in 1922, and has been identified by him as the probable site of the Skidi village reported by Major Sibley in 1811,[37] and subsequently

sites are those exhibiting only the pure native cultural traits with no traces whatever of Caucasian contact; they antedate the arrival of the Spanish in 1541. In the above discussion only historic and protohistoric Pawnee sites are considered. Various sites in the last category are discussed in Smithsonian Misc. Colls., vol. 93, no. 10, by W. D. Strong, entitled "An Introduction to Nebraska Archeology"; also in Wedel, 1935, pp. 132–237.

[34] Grinnell, 1893, p. 238.

[35] Ibid., p. 239.

[36] All of the sites described are indicated on map 2 which shows their situation relative to the streams and river bluffs. The names are those in general use among local investigators; the numbers are for convenience in use of the map only.

[37] 1927, p. 203.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

THE LOST UNIVERSE

Prologue

The Lost Universe *is an account of one year in the life of a six-hundred-year-old American Indian nation that continued its existence within the United States through the Civil War period, retaining its integrity as a nation until it was uprooted and dissolved in 1876.*

This is the story as told directly by the citizens who were part of it in those last years and who, in the course of their lives, saw it become a lost universe.

Nations are even now in danger of dissolution, but they are not lost. The knowledge and wisdom of the six-hundred-year-old Pawnee nation is one of the unknown building blocks that was built into the nation of the United States. In the Pawnee nation was summarized the knowledge of a continent that reaches back nearly twenty thousand years in time to when mankind first discovered the New World. In it is embodied our continuity with human history as it developed in this land.

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14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
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by the Pawnees. The Pawnee custom of sacrificing a captive maiden to their god of war, the Morning Star, captured the attention of the people of the eastern United States and Washington in 1820 through reports of a young Pawnee hero, Man Chief, who risked his life to rescue a Sioux girl from the sacrificial scaffold in defiance of the Pawnee priesthood and the other participants in the ceremony. Echoes of Aztec customs that appeared in the ceremony and in other phases of their religion made people wonder how the Pawnees had come to make their home in the northern Plains or in what manner they could have received such customs. In the 1840's as main trails going westward cut directly across their territory, the Pawnee name became a feared byword to the settlers going west.

To many people today the word Pawnee suggests Plains Indian life. They were indeed a people of our Plains, but the nature of their life was very different from the common stereotype of a Plains Indian. They were not the horse-riding, settler-hounding people that we think of as the typical Plains Indian. In the following account the Pawnee will appear in very human terms in the context of organized tribal life. We hope this more realistic setting will dispel some of our static preconceptions and open up new possibilities for change in our point of view about these early American settlers.

But beyond this primary goal, this study has a more general value for us. The portrayal of Pawnee life through the most ordinary situations has thrown into sharp contrast the major qualitative differences in their life-ways which fit none of our familiar stereotypes. As a human mode, it is a New World life and a new and unfamiliar dimension in the human spectrum. Cultural contact with the European and adoption of some of his ways did not change its essential character as even now American Indian groups persist in being not European. It is this persistent patterning that makes this account of Pawnee life an important resource as a control case in our search for a science of society. If we make an effort to enter it sincerely so that we see it whole, we can look at our own life with new eyes and be better able to perceive new paths to our own tomorrow to become the New World people that we really are.

I shall first introduce a number of Pawnee individuals who lived more than a hundred years ago in a Nebraska Pawnee village and the various life circumstances in which they were involved. Then I will place them within a household in that village and tell in full detail how they worked, played and worshipped together over the course of an entire year. Finally I will relate what became of them at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, after their village life ended. I will finish my account with a possible life pattern for our own future that my Pawnee studies have helped me to develop.